THE LIBERATOR

"COMRADES, LET US ALL UNITE."

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THE RIGHT TO LIVE.

Does Labor Possess This Right?

ITS PARAMOUNT TO ALL ELSE.

The right to live is contingent upon the right to the free use of the means of life. But that right can never be acquired short of Revolution! Unfurl the Red Flag!

The idea of violence, or the use of force, shocks people only, when coming from an unusual or obscure source. We become accustomed to the standing threat of a well-trained militia, and a force of men taught brutality as a trade, and strangely enough our "free" spirits feel no insult—no sense of injustice. We **know** there are gatling guns in the armory **that will be turned upon us too**, if we do not act as pleases the powers that be; yet we are not horrified or shocked, that is, the most of us "free born American citizens" think nothing of it. There is a constant menace to the lives and liberties of workingmen, in every police station, in every camp, where a dude militia plays at soldiering; in the armories filled to the doors with guns. It broods like a heavy cloud over the fate of workingmen who dare dream of freedom and comfort. Yet who is shocked at the awful threats of capitalistic powers? Who grows horrified at the "incendiary" attitude of the law and its tools? Very few. We go on hugging our phantom of liberty with placid minds, undismayed by all this array of systemized violence. The power and influence of wealth make these materialized threats respectable, the government which exists only to protect "property rights," makes them legal, and so we receive them meekly, and acquiesce in this monopoly of force as in the monopoly of everything else.

The capitalist government naturally makes few "incendiary speeches." It does not shock people by saying very often what it will do, but the guns, bayonets, clubs and trained men are there—just the same. Words are unnecessary.

The property-owning classes not only threaten our lives by these visible means of warfare, but they are constantly, by slower, less conspicuous methods actually taking our lives. The marble palaces of the rich are built on the crushed lives of miserable toilers; the very flesh and bones of defrauded children are worked into the cement and stones; the magnificant decorations scarce hide the tears of unhappy women whose toil-shortened lives made them possible. The hundreds of human beings sweltering in one tenement house that one man may live in a mansion fit for the gods, drink in death and disease with every breath they draw. In the mines, in the factories, mills and work shops human lives are offered a continual sacrifice to the beast of property. Yet the great public sees nothing shocking in all this legalized wrong.

But nature knows no man-made laws. Before the bar of common justice this universal robbery and murder of the innocents, respectable and legalized though it be, is as atrocious as hell, and a terrible day of retribution is sure to come!

But woe to a common person who dares talk of force! Not having the power to make his efforts toward throwing off his chains respectable, he is of course a "blatherskite," a "bloodthirsty ranter," etc.

What **would** happen if men were allowed to think and act for themselves where their labor and lives were concerned?

No matter if they are working twelve hours a day under horrible conditions; no matter if their pay is barely sufficient to keep off starvation; no matter if their babies are forced into to the terrible grind in order to keep body and soul together; no matter if their lives are but continued stories of deprivation, degradation, toil and poverty, if they will only keep still about it, it's all right. It is the groaning over their hurts that is criminal; if they but keep quiet they are very good sort of people, and everything can go on "smooth and even." Yes, they **are** allowed to wait till "agitation, education and the ballot" shall break their chains, if they wait quietly. And beigg all corpses or idiots by that time, no doubt they will be allowed to enjoy their freedom.

L. M. H.

REACHING THE MASSES.

Much has been said about "reaching the masses." Great meetings have been held and great men have talked learnedly on this question, but I am compelled to say that the church **does not want to reach the masses. The church wants the classes.** It is after those who have good financial and social standing. The abject poor and the immoral, the very classes who **most need** help may go to the blackest devil and into the lowest hell of what it **cares.** The poor are passed by because they are poor and the rich and well to do are sought because they are rich and well to do. Instead of going to the people and trying to save them from vice, poverty and crime it spends its time and means trying to see who can get the best corner lot, build the best church house, wear the best clothes, furnish the most artistic music and have the most polished preacher, who can come nearest preaching a sermon that is aimed at everything and hits nothing. The church acts just like the young man who, in search of a wife, will pass by the poor young girl because she is poor and seek the rich young lady because she is rich. He never takes into consideration any qualities of head or heart, but thinks only of money. The poor young girl will hate him because he slights her on account of her poverty, while the rich young lady will despise him because he seeks her on account of her money; and the church is acting to the disgust of both rich and poor.—Rev. H. M. Brooks.

THE UNIDENTIFIED MAN.

Out from under the wreck,
One of a dozen or more,
They dragged the lifeless form of a man
Whom no one has seen before.
His hands were hardened with toil,
His clothing was worn and old,
And lines of trouble furrowed the face
That lay there, ashen and cold.
"Nothing to show who he was,"
The newspaper story ran;
And the potter's field next day received
An "unidentified man."
It was nothing new. One life
Had run its allotted span,
And all its hopes were laid in the grave
Of an "unidentified man."
But somewhere—O, believe it!
There are weary eyes that scan
In vain each face that passes the gate;
There are aching hearts that wait, and wait,
For that "unidentified man."

Labor's Long Struggle With Capital.

A Brief Historical Review.

No. 1.

If we would comprehend the labor problems which are confroiting us at the present time we should go back in history and study carefully the conditions out of which they have grown. The modern laborer is an historical product. He has been evolved out of a former condition of a set of influences, different from those which surrounds him at the present time. If we would understand fully his present condition, we must investigate carefully the course of development by which he has become what he is. The short sketches which THE LIBERATOR will contain for some time will be an endeavor to trace the laborer back into remote times, and then come with him, step by step down to the present day, standing as he is, a wage slave, abject and dependent upon a master class the same as his ancestors were two thousand years ago.

It is only in recent years that historians have devoted any space worth mentioning to the conditions of the laboring classes of the respective periods of which they wrote.

The things which have attracted their attention have been chiefly the phenomena of national life, the course of wars, the outcome of battles, political changes, the rise and fall of dynasties and other similar movements, leaving the lives of those whose labor has built the world, beautified it and made it pleasant for the habitation of mankind, in contemptuous silence. The often vastly more important changes that were taking place in the economic conditions, are only mentioned accidently, as in rent-rolls, bills of sale and similar items.

In Greece and Rome slavery was recognized as a fundamental institution of the state—the desolate condition of any progress in the arts and sciences.

The slaves consisted of captives taken in war, of those who had been purchased from those who had captured them, or those who had fallen into debt and had no other way of payment than of selling themselves and their children into slavery to the creditor.

"It was the hands of slaves that tilled the soil, dug the mine, wove the cloth and built the walls of ancient Greece and Rome."

The great mass of craftsmen, such as smiths, carpenters, metal workers, shoemakers, tailors, dyers, and others were all slaves. The condition of these slaves was hopeless in the extreme. They were regarded as mere animals with no rights which their masters were bound to respect, they could be tortured to death, struck dead at the order of their owners, no one had any right to interfere.

The Germans who conquered the Roman Empire and established their domain over every part of movern Europe were also familiar with the institution of slavery. Tacitus, the great Roman historian, describes the condition of the slaves among the Germans in a few short but telling sentences. The slave, he says, may be sold, punished or killed by his master. He is not recognized as a member of society and is not allowed to dress as a citizen.

Marriage between a free person and a slave was forbidden under severe penalty. In some tribes a free person so marrying was subject to slavery and in other cases was punished by death.

The German slaves' position differed somewhat from the Roman slave, inasmuch as he often lived on a small piece of land which his master assigned him and from which he made a living undisturbed by the latter, except when called upon for service or for a yearly contribution consisting in part of the crops which he had raised.

The development from absolute slavery up through the intermediate stages, until slavery gave way to fudelism and fudelism to wage labor was gradual.

L. E. P.

INDUSTRIAL KINGS MUST GO.

(By Eugene V. Debs in a Recent Address.)

A century and a quarter ago there were a few men splendidly in advance of their times, who thought this country should be free; that it could get along without a king. They were in the minority at first, and were looked upon as agitators and misunderstood by the maority of the people; but finally they became the majority and their principles were accepted and marked the progress of the nation.

The majority could not understand a government without a king, but the revolutionary leaders proved that they could get along without King George and govern themselves. If we can get along without a political king, we can get along without such industrial kings as John D. Rockefeller.

Political freedom is founded on economic freedom. No man is truly free unless he is master of the means which supply the necessities of life. Economic conditions determine every other.

The industrial revolution began long ago. It first increased the productive capacity of labor, then increased the wealth and next centered in the hands of the few—and the next step in the industrial evolution is division of the wealth equitably among those who produce it.

A century and a half ago the struggle was for equality in politics; now it is for economic equality. The world today is at the point of the greatest economic change of history. It is impossible for any man to be satisfied with the world as it is; he knows there is something radically wrong when there is such poverty, ignorance and misery.

A new social order is coming out of the present condition of competition. The organiation of society in a co-operative form will be the basis of the new social condition. The centralization of capital can not be checked until competition is eliminated. The new social order will favor all humanity instead of one class. It is the law of life that master and slave are bound together; one can not rise higher than the other.

Man is now engaged in the last stage of the war with man; he is learning that man's highest happiness can only be secured through the happiness of all. The measure of a man's success is his service to humanity. A love for his fellow men is worth more to a man than all the wealth of the world.

The coalition of the freight handlers and the teamsters unions of Chicago in a central body is a move in the right direction and along industrial lines; it is in accordance with the programme of the I. W. W. The new organization will be known as Transportation and Shipping Workers' union, and when perfected, will contain a membership of between 40,000 and 50,000.

MORE BULL PENS.

The following clipping is taken from the Chicago Tribune of Monday, Oct. 23rd last, and speaks in tones of thunder, warning to the masses:

WORKERS ARE WALLED IN

High Stockade Surrounds New Industrial Town.

Something like a walled town, where all the workingmen will live within a big stockade, where the curfew will ring at 9 o'clock, and where the only connection with the outside world will be an occasional newspaper or perhaps a letter from distant relatives, will spring into existence this morning just south of Chicago.

The inhabitants of this sequestered settlement are Hungarians and Austrias, 300 of whom have been brought to work in the great coke ovens of the Semet-Solvay company, with their families. They will make a population of nearly 1,000 souls.

For months the coke ovens have been in progress of construction on a plat of sixty acres at One Hundred and Fourteenth street and Torrence avenue, adjacent to South Deering. At the same time a high board fence has been erected about the place. Within the stockade cottages have been built, a big dance hall has been reared, and stores and shops have arisen.

The curiosity aroused in the neighboring towns of South Deering and South Chicago was dispelled yesterday when the company announced its intention of quartering its employes within the gates of the stockade.

Issue Rules for Employes.

Simultaneously some novel rules governing the freedom of the coke workers were made known.

No employes will be allowed outside the gates without permission.

The curfew will ring at 9 o'clock and every man, woman and child must be within the inclosure by that time.

All entertainment will be provided employes by the company. For this purpose a dance hall has been erected. Employes must not attend dances or other entertainments outside the inclosure.

The company opened the dance hall last night, giving a big ball to the workmen and their wives. Until a late hour there were sounds of wild Hungarian music and merrymaking within the stockade. Carefully watching over the scene to see that the fun did not become too boisterous were agents of the company. When the latter thought the dance had continued long enough they put out the lights, locked the doors of the dance hall, and sent the workmen and their wives back to their cottages.

Work in the coke ovens will begin this morning. The church problem has yet to be solved, but it is probable that the inhabitants of the town will be allowed to attend worship in the neighboring villages.

REX.

MARCHING ON.

The torch that Luther held with timid hand,
In fear lest rays of freedom's light should fall
On peasant heads and nerve the arm of thrall
To other use than till a master's land,
The brighter burns as on from age to age
In other hands it still leads freedom's band
Victorious 'gainst the savage rage
With which Authority its light withstood,
And sought to quench in martyred heroes' blood,
Beneath its light still brighter glow the dreams
Of freedom's sons; it shines where poets con
The palimpsest of life, whose every page
New worlds reveal, and in the distance gleams
Where souls of martyrs slain are marching on!

LUM.

LIFE AND THE WELL BALANCED MAN.

By Maxim Gorky.

The world will surely agree with me when I say that inordinate development of the intellect weakens the capacity for feeling, and that the very instinct of life itself may be undermined by such development. For the mind, although not parasitic, is planted upon this instinct, in the fertile soil of the primary impulses; it is nourished by their juices, it holds within them its roots, and in a normal nature it unites naturally with them and becomes a necessary attribute of man in his strivings toward the realization of his self. An excessive development of the purely rational powers should therefore be checked, in order that these powers should not outstrip the man himself. For, in the last analysis, man is but the incarnation of the life-instinct, and to place a limitation upon the development of his less instinctive faculties is necessary for self-preservation. Therefore, if, from some unknown cause, the proper point in the development of the reason be passed, the equilibrium of charcter is destroyed and man becomes his own antagonist. He endeavors to break away from himself simply because his reason is in tense contradiction to his feelings.

This is a strange thought. "But," it may be asked, "what if this excessive development of sheer intellect produces a Kant? What will you say then?"

What shall I say? I shall say that Kant was a very pitiable, miserable man, for he knew nothing of life beyond his own philosophy. And yet, even Kant, pitiable as he was, surrounded always by pure metaphysics and perhaps never conscious of the reality of life, was, after all, a sacrifice to us in our endeavors to fathom life's secret. His misfortune is our benefit, our pride and our glory. Certainly such people are necessary, but that does not prevent me from regarding them as I do. It is positively necessary to be a Spinoza and not a human being in order to derive one's highest pleasure from the contemplation of spiders devouring one another. I do not regard such sages as human beings. I cannot. I may wonder at the dynamic quality of their thought, I may even reverence their genius, but I cannot consider a man of overbalanced development as an ideal for humanity.

Kant and Spinoza were only enormous heads. Life requires a harmonized being, one in whom intellect and feeling exist in proper proportion. The ideal human being is one in whom all the faculties are present in the right degree, and, blending with one another, will always and in all conditions, make full and complete any impression of life. Such a nature would be not only wise but kind, not solely all-reasoning but also fully emotional.

This equipment is absolutely necessary if one would take a firm hold on life and exert his activities to the utmost. It enables us likewise to adapt ourselves to life's conditions as they change with the development of the ego.

Let us acknowledge that an abnormal development of intellect is natural only to exceptional individuals. Let us pay tribute to the genius of these men if we find it necessary, but let us also pity

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THE LIBERATOR

A WEEKLY DEVOTED TO REVOLUTIONARY PROPAGANDA ALONG LINES OF ANARCHISTIC THOUGHT

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LUCY E. PARSONS, Editor
466 W. Van Buren Street, Chicago, Ill.

The Editor does not necessarily indorse all views expressed by contributors, but as the LIBERATOR is a free Forum we invite and welcome contributions upon all subjects pertaining to liberalism.

Personalities will be rigidly excluded; we are working for the good of humanity at large.

IN THE ABSENCE OF AUTHORITY—GOVERNMENT, PEOPLE WILL DO RIGHT SINCE NO ONE WOULD PROTECT THEM IN DOING WRONG.

Government is the assertion of force, of authority, of rulership. The plea made for government is that man being wicked, cruel and debased, government is necessary in order to compel what is right and prevent what is wrong. On these grounds the necessity for government is maintained, and it is claimed that when government fails to do this it is because it is in the hands of wicked and corrupt men who pervert it, and abuse the power conferred upon them by diverting it from its true intent.

In a free society which Anarchists strive for, we maintain will be established on an entirely different theory. Anarchists claim that under natural law, or in the absence of government and authority, people must do right, or rather refrain from doing unsocial acts (crime), since none would protect them in the commission of such deeds; in other words, crime, or the violation of social rights, would bring its own punishment upon the perpretator.

On the other hand we see that government steps in and regulates the affairs of society; it defends what is legal, and therefore right, and what it prohibits is illegal, and therefore wrong. The moral standard in all matters is regulated by government; yea, are placed at its disposal. Under the rule of government, one portion of society possesses power to dictate to the other, exacting service and compelling obedience to their mandates.

An-archie, or no government, leaves man to the operations of natural law. It teaches that law is to be discovered, not manufactured, and that a happy life is only possible when we live in conformity with these laws. The reward—happiness; penalty—misery.

It does not matter whether government be a monarchy, plutarchy or democracy, the principle of coercion and authority which invades man's natural rights, is the same, because if it is wrong for the one or the few to rule the many, how can it be right for the many to rule the few? To the Sibboleth, the "greatest good to the greatest number." Anarchy answers back "the greatest good to all."

In the absence of constitutional statutory government, the price of peace is fair dealing, arbitration would take the place of courts of law (misnamed justice). Crime would be treated as a disease, which it in fact is, hence under Anarchy there would be asylums, not prisons, for "criminals". Voluntary associations for the purpose of co-operative production in the place of wage-slavery. And for those who did not care for Communism there could be the principle reciprocity by means of exchanges for equivalent products which would succeed present profit-mongery. In the absence of government which grants special privileges, the workshops would belong to the workers, the farms to the farmers, tools to the toilers, and produce to the producers; the means of existence, the resources of life would be the common heritage of the whole human race. Occupation and use would then be the sole and only title, because it is the only natural title. Under government, however, the natural law is set aside by the statute.

A statute law made in harmony with natural law is useless, because unnecessary, and one made in violation thereof is tyrannical and injurious. Government, therefore, whether by majority or minority, is unnatural—wholly injurious. Natural law is mandatory, self-enforcing. Statute law requires all the paraphernalia of courts, jails, police, and armies—in short, government to enforce it.

If man is a product of nature, let nature be his friend, guide and ruler. Man-made law is of benefit to those only who would take and hold an advantage over their fellows. Government is for slaves; freemen govern themselves. In the absence of law all are free!

ALBERT R. PARSONS.

Strikes and Violence.

During strikes of working people against the slavish exactions of their employers, the contest goes on peaceably enough so long as the employers are getting the best of their workers, but just as soon as the strikers begin to gain their demands and are likely to defeat their employers, the struggle assumes a war-like phase. The employers never tire of warning the strikers against using violence, but themselves never hesitate to employ violence to subdue the strikers when necessary. According to "law" there is no violence employed when employers starve the working man into subjection, but it is "unlawful" and "disorderly" for the workingman to resist the starvation process known as the lockout, the blacklist, discharge, etc. To resist these compulsory methods is what the law terms violence, and the authorities are called upon by the employers to suppress it. The police, the guardians of "law and order", are set upon the unarmed people to quell the "disturbance", the militia being held in reserve to reinforce them. Workingmen are thus driven to the choice of quiet submission or cracked heads, broken bones and slaughter.

"Free" American citizens, what are you going to do in future in such cases, quietly submit?

L. E. P.

MEN DIE, BUT PRINCIPLES LIVE.

Prison Cell 20, Chicago, Ill., Oct. 25, 1887. . . . The Alarm has, as you know, ever rang out strong and clear the dangers that threatened the people. . . . To other hands is now committed that task which was mine in the work and duty as editor of this paper. Though fallen, wounded perhaps unto death, in the battle for liberty, the standard—the press—which my hands bore aloft in the midst of the struggle is caught up by other hands, and will be again and again, if needs, till the crimson banner waves in triumph over the enemies of peace, brotherhood, and happiness.

A. R. PARSONS.

The above is an extract from a letter written by Mr. Parsons in turning the "Alarm" over to his successor, the late Dyer D. Lum. The words are as applicable today as when written 18 years ago. Comrades, are you ready to carry forward the work?

Life and the Well-Balanced Man.

(Continued from page 1)

them from the depths of our souls.

It is well known that those people who are known as "thinkers" are often reproached for their passiveness, their flabbiness. It has been said that they are people of word and thought but not of deed, that their influence upon life is insignificant, and that, in general, they are worthless material for the upbuilding of new life upon this earth. And we must at least admit the possibility of the truth of such a charge. At least, such an accusation is wholesome, and we should allow it the more since it is oftenest made by those who belong to the "thinkers" themselves. It is thus self-condemnation, fiery, cruel, but always sincere. Their intentions, they say, at least many of them, are honest. There are streams of talk but not a grain of action. No, perhaps there are some grains. All periodicals, novels, articles, these are grains—actually grains—nothing more. Some of them write, others read, and having read, debate and then—forget what they have read. And through it all their ideals remain stagnant, if indeed they do not vanish altogether. They have the appearance of persons just returned from a great feast when, in reality, there was no feasting at all.

What is life to them? A feast? No. Labor? No. A battle? Oh, no. Life is to many of them something dreary, exhausting, misty, a sort of burden. They bear it panting with exhaustion and complaining of its weight. Do they like to live? Have they any love for life? How strange such questions sound to their ears! They like to read, to debate; they love to contemplate the future. But it is a platonic love, a fruitless love.

Life—that beautiful process of the unfolding of ideas, the acquirement of beauty and wisdom, that endless creation of new forms, that mysterious process, deeply interesting and joyous, yes joyous—life they do not love. They love something particular, something created by themselves, but that something is not the ideal of a new life.

Many of us do not know life. In childhood we spend a few years learning to read and write, then a little later we settle down each in our corner and exist thereafter upon our imaginations. We feed too much on literature instead of the wholesome food of immediate impression. But when life sarcastically flings in our faces one of its myriad contradictions, we at once take up a book in order to see what is said there in regard to the matter. Ah, yes, we think we are very clever, and are becoming still more so, but at the same time we are becoming more passive. The impressions of life rouse in our souls not a resounding, hearty echo, but merely a weary vibration.

We live in colonies, in sects, and we rarely visit save in the house of a partisan. We do not often invite heretics to our houses. We hold ourselves narrowly aloof, and cultivate an indifference to people who think differently from us.

This intellectual aristocracy is injurious. In it there lurks something which seems suspicious to me. I will not conceal from you what I think of it. I believe that it is actually the fear of life. It is as though we are in doubt of the power and usefulness of our arms and our ability to use them. We fear lest our cherished beliefs, coming into collision with life, will be shattered against the rocks of what we regard as ignorance and prejudice.

Let us feel so no longer. We must live. Life is a beautiful possibility and we must strive to live long and well, in health and in happiness. I am positive that even the trees, as they grow, experience a delight in the process of being. How much more delightful life should be to us! Surely it is always possible for a being endowed with consciousness to draw some deep, strong joy from the stormy sea of life.

It is false that life is gloomy, it is false that in it there are only wounds and groans, misery and tears. Even in its gloomiest aspect there are things noble and beautiful.

All wounds received in battle for the rights of humanity, for the opening of paths leading to justice and freedom, are honorable wounds.

Even among the groans that ascend from the struggle there resound the splendid cries of fallen heroes calling for vengeance! In the stream of tears there are tears of joy.

Life has its vulgarities, but it has also its heroisms. It contains uncleanliness, but it contains also the pure, the inspiring and the beautiful.

If life does not contain everything that man can desire, he alone has the force that can create the things that life has not. If this force is weak today, it can become strong tomorrow. Life is beautiful, life is sublime. It is the indomitable movement toward universal happiness and joy. Even in squalor and misery, where the currents of life flow sluggishly in a dark, thick stream, there sparkle precious bits of magnanimity, wisdom, heroism. And beauty is also there. Wherever man is, there is also good. It is in grains, in small seeds, that is true, but nevertheless it is there. And even the tiniest seeds do not all perish. They grow and blossom and will bring forth fruit each after its kind.

Believe me that man everywhere carries God with him, and wherever and whatever he may be he will always remain human, and for humanity there awaits a future of great brightness.

—*From Cosmopolitan.*

BOY ASKS FOR LIFE SENTENCE.

New Haven, Oct. 27.—William R. Phillips, a seventeen-year-old boy arrested in Springfield, Mass., for the local authorities, startled Judge Gager in the Superior Court by begging that his sentence be changed from two to five years for burglary to life imprisonment.

"I can't reform, Judge," the boy told the court. "I have been with criminals so long that I can't shake their ways. They locked me up with a lot of them in the Dedham, Mass., jail, and they taught me all the crime I know. I can't be good, and I want to go to jail for life rather than become a professional criminal."

The boy's plea touched the court, but nothing could be done.

"Are you sure that you can't change?" asked Judge Gager.

"I guess I'm hopeless, your honor," replied the boy.

"I am sorry, but I cannot make your sentence either heavier or lighter. I trust that your idea of your future will change," said the court.

The young fellow was arrested for the larceny of an automobile, along with several other things. He has served many terms in jails.

Fathers and mothers, does not the pathetic appeal of that poor boy touch with tremendous effect your heart? Can you not understand us when we tell you that "criminals" are manufactured; that they are the unnatural products of our unnatural social conditions? Let each one who reads these lines, at once join the great army that is now forming to abolish the system which makes "criminals" of our loved ones.

MILWAUKEE
Memorial Celebration
In Remembrance of Nov. 11, 1887.
ARRANGED BY THE
ARBEITER LESE ZIRKEL
SUNDAY NOV. 12, 1905.
At 3 o'clock P. M. at the
FREIE GEMEINDE HALL, 262 4th ST.
ADMISSION 10c. After 6 P. M. 25c.
Speakers: J. MOST, German; Mrs. L. PARSON, English.
AFTER CELEBRATION: ENTERTAINMENT.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Greeting Comrades, Friends and Enemies:—

In issue No. 1 of the LIBERATOR, Sunday, Sept. 3rd, the Editor under the heading "Salutation" announced that among others who have promised to contribute articles for publication in the LIBERATOR would be E. N. Ling, with articles showing the condition of the farmers. Now, therefore, I presume it is my duty to introduce myself to the readers of the LIBERATOR, and here I am: Was born in the province of Wermland, Sweden, May 18, 1872. My appearance, and manners, as according to a trial reading by a so-called astrology professor (who presumably thought he could soak me on a few dollars or so) is as follows: You have a most powerful brain, heart bold and courageous as a lion, steps firm and majestic. Love good reading matter, would be a good student and writer, and become a good metaphysical leader. Have a shrewd keenness which very few possess, and are a born conquerer. A full reading of your life would cost you $25.00. According to the oracle professor, I certainly must be a very handsome nice fellow—but, according to a certain young North Dakota widow, I am supposed to be a very annoying person, and ought to know that much myself if I have any sense. Well, I will now proceed with my article, and let the readers of the LIBERATOR be my judges, as to which is right—the oracle professor, or the young widow.

I may as well confess right here that I do not consider it to be an easy task by any means writing an article worthy of appearance in an Anarchist journal, especially so, as my English is very limited.

Guess I have to excuse myself as a Swedish gentleman (butcher by trade) who spoke poor English, did to an English speaking customer of his who wanted to buy some beef steak: Me have no beef steak but I figure I give you some neck. That is, even if my English is pretty much limited I do figure I can give Mr. Capitalist a few good stiff blows in his neck, in the Ring of the LIBERATOR in some of my later writings, this being only an introductory article.

As to the appearance of the LIBERATOR I wish to say that I am very much pleased with the paper, and am especially pleased that the wife of one of our martyred comrades was chosen as the Editor of our propaganda journal, for I do somewhat believe the woman and not the man will most likely be the leader of the movement and struggle for a better society to come.

I believe Chicago to be the most proper place for publishing the LIBERATOR. If in the city of our martyrs an Anarchist journal among our American comrades cannot exist on account of insufficient support of dollars, then it seems to me, we may just as well forever throw up the sponge and let all thoughts of a better ideal society go to the devil and God himself to be fought out two handed, for I do consider that all reform movements, and reform parties since November 11, 1887, as some kind of people's voice to Cain, for having murdered Abel.

Regarding the article whether the Americans are the leaders or followers of the Anarchist movement, I wish to say that I believe the Germans to be the leaders. If we go back to the years of 1886-87 we find right at once our German comrade, August Spies, as the leader of our comrades, during the long unjust trial, and on their grand march to the scaffold, and on the scaffold as well. Comrade Albert R. Parsons, as an American born enjoining of *his own race* and the death march to the gallows, thereby becomes the spirit of the Anarchist movement on American soil.

In our comrade's last words on the scaffold, August Spies is leading with: There will be a time when our silence will be more powerful than the voices you strangle today!

George Engel: Hurrah for Anarchy.

Adolph Fisher: This is the happiest moment of my life!

Albert R. Parsons: "Will I be allowed to speak, O-men of America? Let me speak, Sheriff Matson! Let the voice of the people be heard! O—" Yes such are the last words of our martyrs of whom even their enemies, the capitalist press, said: With their arms tied to their backs did they brave, courageous and singing make their last grand march to the gallows.

E. N. LING.

NO PICKETING LAWFUL.

"There is no such thing as peaceful, polite, and gentlemanly picketing, any more than there can be peaceful mobbing or lawful lynching," declared Judge E. A. Smith of the Apellate Court of Chicago in deciding against Franklin Union of Press Feeders and three members who had been fined $100 each and sentenced to thirty days' imprisonment for violation of an injunction secured by the Chicago Typothetae.

"The cases of Fred Kitchel, Charles Smith, and John Mucher were taken to the Appellate Court by Franklin Union, against which, as an organization, a decree imposing a fine of $1,000 had been entered. This decree is affirmed by the Appellate Court."

The cases at issue involved the right of workingmen on strike to walk on the public streets and to speak to other workingmen, apprising them of the fact that there was a strike in a certain shop and asking them not to go in there and scab on their fellow workmen.

In Memoriam.

This coming Eleventh of November will mark the 18th anniversary of the five-fold judicial murders perpretated by the capitalist class of America. This event is known as the execution of the Anarchists.

It is true the foul murders took place in the jail in Chicago, State of Illinois, but the whole gang of tyrants from St. Petersburg, Russia, to San Francisco, America, on that November day sent up one wild demoniac shout of glee that "Anarchy is dead!"

This event has passed into history; time has cooled the passions and cleared the judgment of the American people. The jury who brought in the ready-prepared verdict have most of them passed away and their very names are unknown. But the great jury, the American people, are still here, and it is to these whom I wish to appeal to through the columns of THE LIBERATOR.

For this purpose, a special number of THE LIBERATOR (to be known as the 11th of November number) will be issued. In this issue there will be no attempt made to appeal, either to the sentiments or the passions of the reader, or to draw imaginary pictures. I intend to go to the records of the Cook county court and from their own evidence, I will convict the capitalistic class of the foulest judicial murder perpretated in modern times. THE LIBERATOR will contain a truthful account of the Haymarket meeting; why it was called; who was responsible for its breaking up in disorder, then tracing all succeeding events from that time until November the eleventh, 1887, the day on which our comrades were murdered.

This 11th of November number of THE LIBERATOR will contain splendid photographs of our five comrades and will be printed on extra good paper so that the photos can be framed where desired.

This special notice is issued early to give comrades and friends time to send in orders as soon as possible so that we may know how many to print. We want to get out an eight page number, if possible, but this will depend entirely upon the orders which we receive.

The price will be $2.00 per hundred, $1.50 per fifty copies, 25c for 10 copies.

It seems to me that every single reader of THE LIBERATOR ought to know 10 persons to whom they can hand the paper who would want to know the truth about the Anarchist trial, not because they are either Anarchists or sympathisers, but just simply to learn the truth for the truth's sake. So I have reason to expect a large number of 25c orders.

Hoping to hear from comrades and friends soon, I am, yours in the cause of truth and justice,

Lucy E. Parsons.

THE RED FLAG.

By Wex Jones.

There's a flag all nations ken,
And a flag no nation owns;
It springs from the blood of murdered men
And is fluttered by women's groans.
When the suffering peoples rise,
No blazons their ensign vaunts,
But bright before opened eyes
The dread flag, the red flag flaunts.
'Tis the flag of the barricade,
The flag of the blood-run street,
When the rulers by bullet and blade
Their embattled subjects meet;
When might is no longer right,
The tyrant is no longer a god;
When the trooper turns in fright
From the peasant he deemed a clod,
The red flag waves, and the "red cock crows"
As the blazing palaces crash;
Forgotten a people's thousand woes
For joy of the muskets flash.
"Death to the tyrant!" rings the cry,
"Freemen or corpses we!"
When the dread red flag is lifted high,
And a trampled folk fights free.

LIBERTY GROUP San Francisco meets every two weeks. Next meeting will be held Nov. 11 and 25th, at 417 Post St., 8 p. m.

THE WONDERS OF SCIENCE.

Under this head will be contained short sketches on scientific subjects. We wish to interest the young people in the families of LIBERATOR's subscribers. The young are likely to tire of a paper which dwels too much upon the economic question only. Besides such short sketches may inspire the young people to exertions that may prove interesting to themselves and their parents.

Science and Life.

By PROF. ENRICO FERRI
Of the University of Palermo, Italy.

TRANSLATED BY ODON POR.

The reality of facts affirms that the nineteenth century will be recorded in the history of man as an epoch more brilliant even than those of Pericles, of Cæsar-Augustus or the Renaissance.

The reason of this modern historic splendor is more, I believe, to be found in the progressively accelerating approach of science and life than in the marvelous and almost daily theoretic and practical scientific discoveries. The rapidity of approach assures us of their ultimate union in our century after such a long, disastrous and irrational separation.

It is the powerful systematization of positive knowledge, begun by Augustus Comte, that will collect the diverse currents of scientific research and discovery into the majestic stream of evolutionary philosophy.

Adopting permanently the positive method—which is the only irresistible weapon in the battle for truth—contemporary science will democratize itself more and more.

"The Porch of Science is the Temple of Democracy," said Buckle.

The positive method substitutes for the pretended and pretentious verities of a mystical philosophy,—quite inaccessible to the average mind—a simple and lucid exposition of facts and their connections which have been painfully drawn by observation and experiment from eternal nature. Instead of the old difficulties of work of scientific thought to discover or trace this or that law of the physical or moral world, the positive method substituted its great facilities, by means of which all the world may acquire a knowledge of those laws and apply them to daily life: from the electric light to the destruction of injurious germs, from the knowledge of poisons of body and spirit to the explanation of the anomalies of a criminal or a genius, from the telegraph to the phonograph — which with photography will revive, even beyond death, conversation between the absent—from the telephone to acronautics and automobiling.

At the same time another human force living and infinite has emerged more and more from the depths to the light of the sun, impelled and directed by the marvelous development of comtemporaneous industry. A human current unknown in past centuries — the anonymous stream of wage-workers—namely of those expropriated of their means of production, their tools of labor, now enlisted in the mines and factories in a colossal army, separated as a distinct class and always the more numerous where the territory is the most strewn with the falling leaves of the unemployed and the declassed.

So now the tree of science, marvelously rejuvenated by the sap of the positive method, brings forth its most human branch—sociology—at the same moment the international proletariat imposes upon it the observation of its conditions and the delineation of its genesis and destiny, which is the destiny of the greatest part, the most useful and most suffering part, of humanity.

That is why, as I see it, sociology must direct itself more and more toward socialism, to save itself from becoming a Dead Sea fruit. In the meantime socialism develops its sentimental and utopistic forms, which is inevitable while the proletariat is still in its cradle, because, in misery, the people can see only their suffering and not the revolutionary movement towards social transformation.

Parallel to the positive philosophy of Comte, to the science of biologic transformation of Darwin and universal transformation of Spencer, developed the scientific socialism of Marx and Engels, which is the positive doctrine of economic and social transformation.

Thus the two currents of evolutionary philosophy and scientific socialism were approaching nearer and nearer to mingle and reanimate their energies in the eternal ocean of life and positive verities.

Indeed the general history of science in the nineteenth century shows us a spectacle of a more and more marvelous development.

The fundamental sciences of mathematics, astronomy and mechanics had almost reached perfection before the last century was born, in the thousand years and more from Pythagoras and Archimedes to Descartes, Newton and Leibnitz, from Leonardo da Vinci to Galileo, D'Alambert, Euler and Laplace. In spite of all this we already foresee that the horizons of mathematics and mechanics may be extended in an unheard of way, either through theoretic discoveries or in their applications in other sciences, or even in life itself.

The science of physics from the Voltaic pile to the electromagnetism of Ampere and Faraday reached, in 1885, the electrodynamic of Paccinotti gave us all its numberless applications, such as motive power transported hundreds of miles from the Alps or the Rhine to the factories or distant cities.

The smoky kerosene lamps are replaced by the magic lamps of Edison, and now the slow Morse telegraphic method is to be replaced by Marconi's wireless telegraphy.

Physics has reached the marvel of the Roentgen rays, which confirm that identity of light and electricity which was announced by Henry Hertz in 1889, so we know now that our eyes are not only optical instruments but also electrical organs.

Chemistry, under the impulse of Lavoisier, reached the law of atomic evolution, making it possible for Mendeleieff to announce, through induction, the existence of a new element—gallium—in the series of the irreducible elements, a discovery which was afterwards made by Boisbaudran exactly as Leverrier announced, by an analogous induction, the existence of the planet Neptune in the planetery series of our solar system, which, in 1846, was discovered in Berlin by Galle with the telescope.

And now the abyss between inorganic and organic chemistry disappears before the miracles of chemical synthesis, which has arrived at the creation of organic products in the laboratory and which, following Berthelot, will some day bring unheard of revolutions in the production of human nourishment, giving us our daily bread without the plow tearing up the soil. Then we will not be afraid of increase of population. The secret of those glorious victories against the unknown lies and will lie forever in the positive method, of which one of its great founders, Galileo, said: "The people have law suits and litigations in order to interpret someone's testament merely because the testator is dead; for if he were yet living it would be absurd to go to another than himself to interpret his meaning. So it is absurd to seek the meaning of the things in nature in the sayings of this or that ancient philosopher instead of reading the works of nature herself, which, always living and moving, lie open before our eyes, ever unchangeable and veracious."

Through questioning nature the physico-chemical sciences came to the fundamental laws of the conservation of matter (Lavoisier) and of energy (Robert Meyer) and perhaps of life (Preier).

It is this law which shows us the transformation of matter from its radiant state to the form of gas, and thence to the liquid or solid form (Crooks). And Grove shows us the transformation of movement into heat, light, magnetism or electricity, and so we become able to tame and rule that unique and eternal force, matter, of which intuitive and positive knowledge is the starting point and the monistic philosophy the goal.

Indeed, under the impulse given by the criticism of Kant, science arrived, in the last century, through the materialistic reaction of Feuerbach, Moleschott, Vogt, Buchner, at the monistic conception of the universe.

So, by interrogating the earth, the observations of Husson and Lyell previous to the anthropogeography of Humboldt, Ratzel, and Elisée Reclus, established the doctrine of geographic evolution, thus laying the basis of the theory of evolutionary determinism of telluric evolution, which has become the directing spirit of biologic and social transformation.

And the immense progress of biology! Since Goethe, Lamarck, Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire, the animalistic transformation—with its laws of adaptation to environment, of natural selection and organic heredity—was triumphing with Darwin, Wallace, Huxley, Haeckel and many others. The ease and clearness of the demonstration given by Darwinism to biologic anthropology and psychology disarmed popular prejudice, and all the world knows that embryology, since Spalianzani and Baer, presents to us, shortened through a biologic kinetoscope, so to speak, the transformation of the whole zoological species, from monad to man.

On the other side, cell and germ biology, from Virchow to Pasteur, gave us admirable victories in the battle against the most terrible maladies, from cholera, through Koch, diphtheria, through Behring, and yellow fever, through Sanarelli. After that came the surgical antisepsis of Lister, and now asepsis scores its wonderful victories. At the same time, hygiene, one a purely individual precaution, now becomes more and more a social function conserving the physiological and psychical existence of all the human race.

With researches regarding the physiology of the nervous system, by Claude Bernard, Hitzyg, Ferrier, Schiff, Henscheu, Lusianai, Charcot, Golgi, Ramon y Cajal, Gehuchten and Marinesco we reached a really scientific psychology and pcycho-pathology, and with the work of Helmholtz, Fechner, Buccola, Lange, Flournoy, Binet, Marey, Mosso and Hipp, the method of human feeling and thinking becomes more and more understood. At the same time the scientific discoveries in hypnotism gave us the means to make a real anatomic dissection of the human soul, decomposing it into its very elements.

On the other side, after Schlegel, Grimm, Max Muller, Ascoli and Marzolo, the law of the biopsychic evolution of languages was traced, which before then was erroneously considered as an exclusive appanage and distinctive characteristic of the human species. At the same time that Grottenfend and Champollion discovered the secrets of the cuneiform inscriptions and the hieroglyphics, unveiling thousands of years of human history, which Herder, Buckle, Ratzel and Metchinkoff have exploited scientifically.

Psychology and psycho-pathology, enlightened with the innumerable works of the great contemporaneous anatomists on sensation, on intelligence and the will of the normal man of the different social classes as well as with the degenerate, are applied more and more extensively in the field of pedagogy.

After the marvelous impulse received in the five years between 1855 and 1860, which saw the fundamental and revolutionary publications of Darwin, Morel, Marx and Spencer, we see the science of the human spirit augmented, strengthened and enlightened by the psychology of children and primitive races, given us by the studies of Preyer, Perez, Galton, Lubbock, Tylor and Elie Reclus.

In our own day we began with James, Lange, Sergi and Ribot to know the positive genesis of emotion and sentiment, the great motive powers of human activity, more powerful than thought, because, in spite of the common belief, which is the source of so many mistakes and so much intolerance, man acts as he feels rather than as he thinks.

Finally, Caesar Lombroso created criminal anthropology, (basing it on general anthropology which had accumulated so many documents on the human species), which is a powerful union between pschiatry and penal justice and which realizes the ancient adage of Cicero, "It is from the nature of man that we must learn the nature of law."

Prepared by the discoveries of the physical and psychological sciences in the intellectual sphere of evolutionary philosophy, and by the conceptions of the historical and ethnographical schools and the evolution of law; baptized by Auguste Comte, nourished by Quetelet, Spencer, Schaeffle, Bagehot, Ardigo, Espinas, Novikow, Kidd, Tarde, Giddings, de Roberty, Worms, Gumplowicz, Lilienfeld, Durckheim, Vaccaro and so many others, sociology comes laden with promise for the future, to crown the superb scientific edifice of the nineteenth century.

(Continued next week.)

SPECIAL NOTICE.

One of our friends or comrade past the 60 years is in a precarious position and he is to raffle his Zither Harp—a very fine musical instrument; the ticket is 15 cents and can be had with us and at 111 Blue Island Ave. Any one who possibly can spare the amount for one or more tickets will be thankfully considered.

IN THE WORLD OF LABOR

The field of labor is the most interesting study for the student of sociology and economics at the present time imaginable. One has but to scan the labor press to see that the working people are becoming aware that they are being forced along by the inexorable law of capitalism into a struggle the equal of which has never been known in this, or possibly any other country.

The machinery of the judiciary is working with marvelous rapidity grinding out decisions in the interest of the employing class. Following are a few of the enunciations from the courts which may act as eye-openers for the wage class:

Organization for Women.

In "Federationist."
By Mrs. Ellen M. Henrotin,

Whenever the status of women in present day industrialism is discussed it is mainly from the viewpoint of the theorist, for while she is an acknowledged factor in the open labor market, her position therein is still beclouded by tradition and prejudice.

The employment of woman in all branches of industry is a comparatively new feature of the industrial situation, and while the oncoming of industrial democracy has occupied the attention of statesmen, scholars, economists, and statisticians, who have written and spoken on all other problems connected with economic conditions, woman's contribution towards the upbuilding and extension of commerce and industry has received but little attention and has been treated as a side issue of a great problem. It is, however, an open question if society at large will not be more affected by woman's entrance into the open labor market than by any other one factor of the situation, for her position in society, and that of the child depending on her, is elemental and fundamental. Thereby truly "hangs the whole tale."

As a proof of the rarity of the philosophic view and the meagre statistics available on this subject, the experience of the Chicago Woman's Club is given. A conference on "Woman in Modern Industrialism" was held in Chicago in the spring of 1904 under the auspices of the club. All investigations then undertaken were beset with difficulties, for there are few statistics of any value and fewer expert statisticians on the subject. Its nature rendered it almost impossible to secure exact information. Many employers replied quite frankly that they "had never given the subject much thought," and even those who expresed an opinion evinced an entire absence of knowledge of the historical sequence of the movement.

Working women themselves are proverbially untrustworthy when asked for information regarding wages or hours—they are always anxious to present the best view of their situation—so little assistance can be secured from them.

On the other hand, women of the well-to-do classes are rarely interested in the subject unless it is presented in the spectacular or sensational manner. They look on it as entirely outside their scheme of life; even those whose husbands are large employers of woman labor often have no conception of the number employed or the conditions under which they labor.

The writer was once present at a dinner where the subject of woman in industrialism was being discussed. A large employer was asked how many women he employed. He replied that he did not know. His wife said quite severely: "You ought to know." She had no conception that she had more moral responsibility in the premises than he; his ignorance as the financial and executive head might be excused, while hers as the one who profited by his ability and the labor of the employes was inexcusable.

In all consideration of woman's industrial status, its historical development is ignored, as is also the change from the domestic to the factory system. Industrial conditions as they affect man's labor have been revolutionized during the last half century, and how much more far-reaching has been the change as affecting woman's labor.

Fifty years ago the man brought the raw material to the door, while the woman in the home converted it into living uses. All the trades and many of the professions were thus home industries, and many women were employed in the home in work which was afterwards finished by men. To quote from "Sex in Industry:" In the census report for 1855 it was stated that in Massachusetts 13,210 women were engaged in the manufacturing of straw hats and bonnets; and the enumerator of the town of Greenwich, in replying to the question as to persons employed, reported "females among the number, as almost all the females in the town when not busy with more important matters were engaged in this kind of work."

This statement was practically true of all the New England towns and villages. The first factories established were small, and only the unmarried women who could be spared from home went out to work. At that time the wages of men and women who so worked were about equal. This was, of course, before the introduction of the hand-loom and while New England was changing from an agricultural to a manufacturing community.

Since the national and state bureaus of labor have been organized, it is possible to follow the steady increase of the number of women engaged in manufacturing. This increase began in 1870 and continued until 1890. Since that date the proportion of women in manufacturing has fallen slightly, though it has increased faster than that of men and children. The census of 1900 reports that 432,158 women as against 569,066 men are engaged in the ten following industries: Cotton, woll, boots and shoes, tobacco, printing and publishing, hosiery, knit goods, silk, fruit and vegetable canning, and box making. These are all elemental industries, representing the trades which underlie the home—the home trades which were always carried on by women and for which their previous training and inherited aptitude qualified them.

According to this census there are 1,031,760 women as against 4,121,006 men engaged in manufacturing in the United States. Among the inherited trades, sewing is certainly in the lead. According to the census of 1900 there are 69,865 women working on men's clothing and 97,701 on underwear. In this latter trade

Continued on page 4.

IN THE WORLD OF LABOR

(Continued from page 3.)

women have about displaced men entirely, as they work for two-thirds the wages paid to men. The cotton industry is typical of the factory system on the largest scale, and the number of men and women employed is more nearly equal — women, 283,638; men, 134,354.

These figures take no account of the work carried on by women in the home, with a product often sold in the market. A good example is the butter industry. The United States reports show that 11,694 men as against 1,048 women are engaged exclusively in this industry. Moreover, almost every farmer's wife makes butter and cheese which is sold directly to the retail dealer, and often the money so made is an important factor in the economy of the household.

In spite of the census report it is practically impossible to ascertain the number of women who work at home on men and women's clothing—which work also is not counted in these reports. From the above numbers some idea can be formed of the immense army of women workers, and the large stake which is theirs in the world of labor. Society has an equal stake in their industrial and social welfare. It is certain this army of workers is in the labor market to stay. As Mrs. Fanny Vurdy Vahner points out in one of her valuable articles on "Woman's Work and Wages," "the demands of modern life have so outstepped the earning capacity of men that women are everywhere stimulated to work by the influence and demands of the age."

The most important "demand" comes from the fact that her services are indispensable to the development of modern commerce and industry, for she is largely engaged in the elemental trades, performing secondary and supplemental work. She thus frees man's labor so that he can embrace those trades and occupations which require strength, skill, and capacity for sustained and severe labor. The typewriters, the women clerks, and the like, of which it is estimated that there are about half a million in the United States, are performing work which men would otherwise be obliged to do—while men are thus able to progress upward in the industrial scale into the technical and art trades where women are rarely found.

Another significant fact is that women are assuming a larger proportion of the financial obligation of the family—assisting in the family support, or at least relieving the family of their own support.

Among the questions asked of manufacturers in the investigation under the auspices of the industrial conference was this one: "What are the family or financial obligations of your employes?" A large number replied that they did not know, but a larger number testified that nearly all of their employes had to meet some family obligation.

An employer of 1,200 girls wrote: "We have reason to think that the majority either pay board or contribute their entire earnings toward the family revenue." He adds that "they nearly all live at home." Another who employs 500 girls, none married, reported that "the majority are helping to support families as well as being self-supporting." Another who employs from 600 to 1,000 young women, wrote: "Sixty per cent of a girl's wages are used for her own support and 40 per cent goes to meet some family obligation; it is a common practice in a family, where there are sons and daughters working, for each to contribute his or her wages to the family fund."

The following reply is from a woman who knows the labor market as do few others: "In every line of industry it will be found that a very large per cent of the workers have family obligations. Women wage-earners who marry sometimes return to work because their husband's income does not permit the wife as much as she had during her independence—she is not willing to live on a lower plane of comfort, and so must earn it."

From another large employer of women the following answer was received: "Most of my employes are contributing toward the support of their families, especially to help fathers or mothers." Another wrote, "Many married women work here to help out the family income; the unmarried have also to help their families as much as they can."

Only a few of the many answers received have been selected; they were all of the same purport, showing that almost all self-supporting women have others depending on them. It is doubtful if the average pay of women workers in the cities is more than $5.25 per week. At the above mentioned conference, no effort was made to ascertain the wages paid, as it is a question which neither employer nor employe will answer.

Generally, employers wrote in answer to the question, "Why do you employ women rather than men?" that they worked cheaper, as they were not organized in the trade. This is practically the keynote of the whole situation, "not organized," and thus they are unable to bring to bear on the employer any pressure. They have no means of reaching public opinion. Of the entire 100 manufacturers, employing together over 25,000 women, only one approved of trades unions for women.

"Absurd," "total failure," "not to their advantage," "unwomanly"—this last from a man who employed 1,500 girls—were some of the answers to the question, "Are trade unions an advantage for working women?" One man and one woman employer returned the identical answer, "An advantage if they have good leaders," the man adding, "which is rarely the case."

The touchstone of modern civilization, above all, of modern conceptions of democracy, is organization. Progress on any line is but the development of order which is but another name for organization. There is today not a social, religious, or industrial agency which does not work through organization, for thus society profits by the united enterprise of large bodies, while retaining the services of those individuals best adapted for leadership. By organization the individual can secure his rights and gain some privileges, which as an individual he is powerless to do.

Woman's present industrial position is totally untenable; she still clings to the principle of individual rather than collective bargaining, and depends upon the will of the individual employer rather than upon the trade agreement between representatives of employers and the union. It goes without the saying that, in the age of organization she will lose ground in the industrial struggle rather than make any advance, if she does not recognize the value of combination. Woman has, in the past, been a zealous adherent of the principle of voluntary organization for education and for religion. The success of all religious and educational agencies testifies to her zeal and executive ability, and now that she is so important an economic factor—now that others depend in so large a measure on her industrial well-being—she should find in these facts an inspiration, and should organize to secure a living wage, fair conditions, and, in a word, the right to her share of her labor, a right she can only obtain through collective bargaining.

Eleven per cent of the 1,000,000 women working in English factories are members of trade unions, and their unanimous verdict is that their condition has in every way been bettered since the trades were unionized. They are so persuaded of its advantages that there is no difficulty in keeping them in line. The great combinations of capital, which are a feature of modern industrialism, can not fail to crush the life out of the individual worker in an unorganized trade. At the same time the organized worker looks down with contempt upon the unorganized. It is only through woman's trade organization that an effective answer to either power can be made. The individual woman in the labor market is the most helpless of all created beings, having absolutely no vote, no voice, no support in public opinion, even though she still possesses that classic thing, "freedom of contract," in behalf of which employers are singing such peans of praise. This freedom to make an individual contract is the last link in the chain which binds her, and is her total undoing.

The present phase of industrialism will be fatal to woman unless she can solve its difficulties through organization, and if she does not avail herself of this method she will remain the "drudge" of the labor world in the future as she has been in the past.

This is the fundamental question for the working woman, for she has always contributed her full share towards the world's work; it now remains for her to demonstrate through industrial organization that she realizes the solidarity of the world's workers.

Clara E. Collett, who is most conservative in her conclusions regarding the industrial future of women, sees that it will be impossible for them to hold their own unless as members of trade organizations, and this for the skilled as well as the unskilled.

Within a month a working woman wrote to the writer: "My observation proves, to my own satisfaction, that women are to blame for the low wages they receive, for they refuse to organize.

"Individually, they may make a contract for poor pay and continue to do so. The individual does not count in the present day labor market. It is the collective bargain which tells. The last class to enter the labor market is always the lowest paid and receives the least consideration, and not only does woman already represent the class, but the ranks of her labor are recruited every day by the immigrant woman, bringing her low standard of living and her inherited passivity under adverse conditions.

"Thus the American working woman would seem to be forced by her instinct of self-preservation into trade organization. She is far too intelligent not to perceive how elusive is her hold on her means of livelihood, and having perceived the remedy, not to apply it. Certainly she has done her part towards the upbuilding of this industrial democracy and 'shall she not eat of the fruits of her labor?' "

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